243

The agricultural techniques of the average southern farmer in growing corn are backward. Tillage is done with shallow plowing equipment and often is neglected. Artificial or natural fertilizers are generally not used, mainly because the farmers lack capital. The distribution of fertilizer, however, by the Mutual Security Agency reached Siaton in 1952. The fields are badly eroded in many localities as a result of careless farming practices. Ideal corn land is slightly rolling with good drainage during the rainy season. Since corn is planted in rows on undulating land, excessive erosion often results. Few farmers attempt to half erosion by terracing or cover-cropping, preferring to permit the land to recuperate by lying fallow for short periods. These agricultural methods are reflected in the average yield of the region, about 8 bushels per acre--40 per cent below the national level of 15 bushels an acre. The average yield per acre in the United States in 1950 was 37.4 bushels. Crops associated with corn are tabios, string-beans, cassava, mungos, and peanuts. Camotes and a variety of fruits, such as mangos, papaya and bananas are also grown. Vegetables are grown either for family consumption or sale, in gardens near the residences.

244
245

243

Within the Southern Corn-Coconut region Siaton and Zamboanguita municipalities have the largest percentage (23) of cultivated land devoted to rice. Rice is grown mainly for family consumption; very little is

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueto, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

177
245
273
174

its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

245
824

There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

245
273
417

Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

245
473

The buri's top fronds are cut while the lower ones are left on the palm. On these lower stems a rude bamboo platform is built where the manangueta stands to collect guhang and people sit while drinking in the tree. (See Plate XXVIII.)[1] Usually a few fronds are used to make a roof over the buri's "eye" (mata or talobtob), shading both the "eye" and drinkers from the sun.

The pith on the exposed top of the trimmed buri is carefully cut away until the "eye" is exposed. The "eye" or "heart" is the inner part of the bole (parenchyma) where the sap flows. Cutting of the "eye", the manangueta warns, must be done with extreme care or the "eye" splits ruining the buri. After making a small exposure of the "eye" the manangueta usually waits for three days--some say a week--until the lihi is performed. One should wait until young sprouts begin to grow in the "eye." If the "eye" is too liberally trimmed before this time, the buri "leaks" at its base.

> The sap is obtained from the buri palm in two ways. Apparently the more usual way is to cut an inflorescence near its base...and collecting the sap which flows from the cut surface, in small earthen jars. The second method, used in Tayabas [Luzon] and some other provinces, but not known to a great many localities, is employed on trees which have not flowered and which may, indeed, be very far from maturity. The trees are stripped of leaves and then cut so that the heart of the tree is exposed. The surface thus exposed is cut and channeled, furnishing a clean tissue which is continually exposed to the air, but protected from the sun by a covering of thatch. In three or four days, sometimes one, the sap begins to flow steadily and rapidly...56

---

56 Brown, op. cit., I, p. 296.

1 [See p. 378, cat. 245 or 11[illegible] -- Analyst]

- TOP VIEW of GUHANG TREE -

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayas OA.14

P. 378

245
273

245
273
754

After the prescribed period has lapsed, the mansanguete or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

824

245
273
754
825

"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

---

[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spiciflorum Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability. I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi item but the explanation given in some cases was only "it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri lihi.

245 273 824 825 751

TABLE XI

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

Items Used in Lihi	Purposes
1. Guhang vinegar	1. To give the guhang a strong taste
2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste	2. To give the guhang a strong taste
3. Bark and roots of badbad tree	3. Protection against "envious persons" 754
4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva").	4. To keep the buri sap flowing
5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm)	5. Protection against "envious persons" 754
6. Roots of uli-an vine(uli-an means "bring back").	6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap.
7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home").	7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." 754

TABLE XX (Continued)

8.	Barb of ray fish (pag-i)	8. Protection against "envious persons"
9.	Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo	9. Protection against "envious persons"
10.	Discarded flashlight bulb or battery	10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery.
11.	Red peppers	11. To improve the taste of the guhang
12.	Gunpowder	12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan.
13.	Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol)	13. To improve the taste of the guhang
14.	Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk	14. Protection against "envious persons"
15.	Salt	15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap
16.	Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken	16. Protection against "envious persons"
17.	Chicken feathers of any color	17. Reason or purpose unknown
18.	Bark of the kalingay tree	18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea.
19.	Kolino roots	19. Protection against "envious persons"
20.	Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barriofolk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark.	20. Protection against "envious persons"

245 273 824 825 751

245 273 824 751

[82]

TABLE XX (Continued)

21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time")	21. To keep the sap flowing
22. Lead from a bullet	22. Protection against "envious persons"
23. Paniawan vine	23. Protection against "envious persons"

245
273
824
751

The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

245
273
754
574

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

245 273 574 754

I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

245 273 574

One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a mananguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

[447 202]

When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

[524]

245
273
574
512

might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

462
841
245
273

Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

462
245
273
841
273
245

However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a mananguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

---

[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

273
245
824

Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

[438]
[435]

462
443
435
434

Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

434 245 [471] 273 472

The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

434 245 273

Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

627
423
578

One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

245
273

If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

241

Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

Coconuts

245.

In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Catiugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64] The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65] This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at ₱567.

[435]

245

The hole in which a nut is planted is filled in gradually as the sprouts grow, and some people wait until the sprout is several feet tall before planting the nut. The former method is said to be better but "takes more sacrifice" for the young tender sprouts are a favorite food of stray pigs. Sometimes stones and earth fall into the hole and damage the new sprout. When individual trees are planted a little fence is usually built around them so that pigs and goats cannot eat the young growth. The nuts are watered by hand.

A lihi is performed when coconuts are planted. The best time to plant coconuts, like cassava, is when the moon is full and the tide low; then they will bear many nuts even when still young. In the first hole are put a piece of nipa palm leaf, a plant called lobi-lobi, and a sprig of malapgos. The nipa and lobi-lobi are reported to make the trees bear abundantly, although one man said nipa was used so the trees would grow rapidly like the nipa palm. Malapgos is a "guarantee of plenty of nuts, even during the hot season"; the same connection is implied that is given as the reason for using malapgos in lihis for rice and corn.

Under favorable conditions the barriofolk said trees begin to produce nuts after six or seven years.[66] Once coconut trees are sufficiently tall so they cannot be

---

[66] "Coconut trees begin to bear when they are six to ten years old." Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 284.

245

damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

245
438

The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

[462]

434
245.

It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

434
245

each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

245

Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

[136]

> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are telltale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

[136]

Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

---

[435]

[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

841

when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

245
262

A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

241
824

Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

245
824

262

---

[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

245
435
262

There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

245

There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

245
433

Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

[262]

Kapok

245
[824]

In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

245
314

but practically no commercial activities are connected with the fiber. Before the last war a few people were said to gather kapok, either domestic or wild, and sell it to Chinese stores in the poblacion. Children would go to the forests to get pods from wild trees, to sell to Chinese for about five cents a pound. Today, however, no one in Caticugan sells kapok; the ground under most trees is littered with rotting pods. Many trees had died recently. Another reason the people said no one sold kapok was that most men dislike climbing the trees because the limbs break easily. Kapok is used by the barriofolk to stuff sleeping pillows. A device called lokogan is whirled between the palms of the hands in a basket of kapok to remove the seeds. (See Plate XXIX.) However, only one was seen in Caticugan.

513
413